From Policy to Practice: An Analysis of Access to Education in the Context of Humanitarian Action

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between policy and practice of access to education within the architectures of humanitarian action. The importance of education as a human right has been internationally widely acknowledged, and more recently it has gained more foothold in discussions about humanitarian action practices.

The thesis deploys a research approach that is based on discourse analysis. To analyse policy, internationally and universally recognized and applicable key documents dealing with access to education have been selected for further inspection. Practice is approached through semi-structured interviews with practitioners in the field of humanitarian action and education, and through a case study of Za'atari refugee camp in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Theoretically this thesis is inspired by poststructuralist development theory (PSDT) and its hyponym discursive institutionalism (DI). Based on these influences, I treat education as an institution that is subject to interventions by different actors and phenomena.

The findings of this thesis demonstrate, on one hand, that education has become a more central aspect of policy regarding humanitarian action. On the other hand, the results sheer light on various challenges that actors on the practical side face while intending to implement and follow through on policies and principles of the before mentioned documents in the field. Actors that operate in the field are especially facing challenges with unstable financial resources and shortcomings in bringing policy closer to the needs of the field. The findings of this study also suggest that the importance of education as a central element of humanitarian action in crisis and conflict situations need to be realized further. This applies to both policy and practice, for education is now realized as a mean of protection rather than additional good or service.

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1) Introduction

> "Everyone has the right to education.
> -- Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality
> and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."
> (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26).

Education has been declared a human right since the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Reaffirmed by the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, education as a basic human right has continued to be at the centre of discussion in development projects, humanitarian action, as well as in human rights forums. Since 1990 and the Jomtien conference on Education for All, education has gained more foothold and visibility in discussions and discourses of humanitarian and development policy and practice (Tawil, 2001; King & Buchert, 1999). Especially due to global forced displacement concerns that have lead millions of people seek refuge elsewhere, local and global crises have been putting school-aged children and youth at risk to live without education for indefinite periods of time. This has grown to be an increasing concern for international organizations, governments and interest groups (see e.g. ECW, 2018). New themes such as "education crisis" and "learning crisis" have filled the lines of documents and reports from the education sector, addressing concerns on access to education and quality of education (OCHA, 2016; ECW, 2018).

While reasons behind displacement vary from natural disasters to man-made crisis, this thesis focuses on access to education for people who have moved due to forced displacement caused by armed conflicts. The line of persons of concern has been drawn to refugees and asylum seekers in official refugee camp setting[1]. That being said, in the current world armed conflicts have become more complicated, complex and multidimensional than ever before. Meanwhile, responses and solutions to such conflicts are equally as diverse and multileveled. The latter also applies to meeting the basic needs of people of concern, including education. The aftermath of today's conflicts often lead to a protracted crisis that requires continued attention and action to help those affected by the conflict (Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Sida et al., 2016).

[1] In this thesis, official refugee camps are defined per United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees' (UNHCR) and Inter-Agency Standing Committee's (IASC) standards as camps that are coordinated by the United Nations humanitarian action machinery. In other words, they are managed by the UN and invited participating agencies in a coordinated manner. The significance of this specification is important due to an increasing number of unofficial refugee settlements in crisis areas. More information please see: https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/refugees/.

Naturally, an ongoing crisis has ongoing needs and different sectors in humanitarian action (such as education) try to respond to the needs that deal with their areas of specialization. As one of these sectors needing to respond to different stages during crises, education has been brought into the centre of discussion in conflicts through the ways humanitarian action is able to respond to educational needs in changing circumstances. While this is a multifaceted topic and one could adopt various approaches, this thesis will sheer light on the aspect of *access* in the education sector. Besides on the international level through Sustainable Development Goals (further referred to as SDG's), the New York Declaration and Education 2030 Agenda, education was more recently at the centre of attention in the Finnish foreign and development policy contexts due to newly produced report on Finland's role in global engagement in education and development (Reinikka et al., 2018; Ulkoministeriö, 2019). With education high on the humanitarian and development agendas, there is an opportunity and need to look more in depth how the crisis in education is reflected in policy and practice. This thesis will take a stance on this topic through analysis on education policy and practice in the context of humanitarian action.

While the general context of this thesis is in humanitarian action and access to education, the empirical context is tied into refugee crisis caused by Syrian civil war. The Syrian civil war and the Syrian refugee crisis are one of the most significant crisis of our time. Not least because it has had an impact on almost every region in the world, but also due to the protracted nature of a crisis that was initially estimated to be over in a few years (Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2016). As a result, over half of Syria's population have escaped the country to neighbouring countries and further (UNHCR, 2018). One of the largest refugee camps in the current day is located by the Southern border of Syria in the desert in Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Some 80,000 refugees reside in one of the biggest refugee camps in the world, Za'atari camp in Jordan (UNHCR, 2018). In this study, Za'atari camp will be presented as a case study regarding education policies and practices in humanitarian emergency situations. This thesis investigates the crisis from the perspective of education policy and practice, and specifically attempts to analyse how policies and practices reflect each other.

More specifically, my thesis has a two-fold approach. First, I explore and investigate current policies on education in humanitarian action through document analysis. Through written examples from the education sector I will investigate the role of education in humanitarian emergencies and education in general in the "business" of humanitarian action. This half of the primary sources for my research consist of policy documents, reports and various national and international documents

with related action plans. Second, I will use a case study of Za'atari as the other primary source in the form of empirical data. I have collected the data through interviews with informants from the field, as well as through field observations from a visit to the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan for seven (7) days in March 2019. To analyse my data I will deploy discourse analysis to paint a picture of the current discourses, practices and potential gaps in humanitarian action with focus on refugees' access to education based on my findings from my case study of Za'atari.

At this point, it should be made clear that the framework and methodology have been influenced both by my personal interest towards humanitarian systems and future career aims in the humanitarian and development sector, as well as resources available to produce this thesis. The first ideas of my thesis and my interest to focus on education in the humanitarian context were planted in 2017, when I was an intern in Finland's Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. During the internship, I closely followed developments in sessions of the Human Rights Council and reports of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education caught my attention. Nevertheless, after two years as a volunteer in a refugee organization and frequently witnessing the frustrations of field practitioners on available resources and numerous underfunded projects I started asking the question on what is behind the inability to do what is needed and necessary.

1.1 Why Education Matters?

As previously mentioned, the recognition of education as a human right goes back to the first international human rights instrument; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (further referred to as UDHR) of 1948 which is often referred to as the most important document that brought human rights as a permanent topic of discussions within global affairs in the international community. While the UDHR is legally non-binding, there are normative instruments that lay down international legal obligations for states and other relevant parties to ensure every person enjoys a right and access to education (UNESCO, 2019). In Chapter 4 I will further elaborate on the difference between legally binding and non-binding nature of documents that are relevant to education in development studies.

Since the UDHR its principles have been strengthened by several other legally non-binding and legally binding[2] human rights instruments and policy documents. From the perspective of

[2] The distinction and significance of legally non-binding and legally binding documents will be further elaborated on chapter 4.

education, the most important instruments emphasizing the importance of education in human rights processes are the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (further referred to as ICESCR) of 1966; the Convention on the Rights of the Child (further referred to as CRC) of 1989; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979; and the Convention on the Rights of Disabilities of 2006.[3] Through the development of these instruments a concept of Right to Education (further referred to as RtE) has been formed and together with the idea of non-discrimination it is the fundamental principle of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)[4]. RtE is also at the core of Education 2030 Agenda developed by the United Nations (further referred to as UN) to compliment the works of Millennium Development Goals (further referred to as MDG's) and SDG's.

Moreover, while education as an important human rights principle has been noted by the international community, there are also other factors to be considered when discussing the importance of education. Investment in education has been proven to be a key factor in both social and economic development for all societies, populations and communities (McMahon, 1999; Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985; Vila, 2000). Its value has been discussed through financial and non-monetary returns and it has become an undeniable fact that educating populations will lead to more stable, developing and successful outcomes in the long term (Mason & Cohen, 2001; in Hart, 2001). Education's role in building and maintaining particularly children's quality of life is seen as a fundamental notion in humanitarian and development discussions (Mason & Cohen, 2001; World Bank, 2012; Hart, 2001, Shore &Wright, 1997).

Based on the presented evidence and experience, education has also become one of the main topics of discussion in global concerns on refugee populations and people escaping a conflict. Fulfilment of RtE and ensuring access to education are in danger especially in conflict situations, in which young children and adolescents might be out of school from months to years to a whole decade (Tawil, 2001). Concerned of the future of refugee pupils, signatories to the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants declared,

"access to quality education, including for host communities, gives fundamental protection to children and youth in displacement contexts, particularly in situations of conflict and crisis" (UNHCR, 2016).

[3] UNESCO, Right to Education: Legal action, https://en.unesco.org/themes/right-to-education/legal-action
[4] UNESCO, Right to Education: Fundamental Principles, https://en.unesco.org/themes/right-to-education/fundamental-principles

In crisis situations, education is seen as a form of protection. The longer the conflict, the longer refugees face the emergency circumstances and are vulnerable to abuse and mistreatment. Nevertheless, UNHCR has concluded that, if children and youth receive quality education both during and after an emergency, they are less likely to be exposed to activities that risk their wellbeing and security (UNHCR, 2010). Therefore, including education at the centre of crisis response is justified from many angles. In my thesis, I will focus on access to primary education and opportunities provided to refugee and asylum seeker populations residing outside their country of origin in official refugee camps[5].

1.2 Contradicting Evidence on Importance of Education

"Half of the world's refugees are children.
Of the children who are of school age, more than half are not getting an education."
(UNHCR, 2017).

While it has been mentioned in the previous section (1.1), that education is an important part of humanitarian action and overall development activities, there is evidence that suggest otherwise. Regardless of numerous declarations and reaffirmations of education's importance, come statistics show that this importance is not reflected in funding. For instance, according to 2018 statistics, less than two percent of humanitarian aid goes into education in funnelled funds. (Ban, 2015; UNICEF, 2018). Furthermore, according to UNICEF, 75 million children worldwide do not receive education due to ongoing crises and emergencies (UNICEF, 2018). Of the world's 25,9 million refugees[6] approximately half are children, and of those children more than 50 percent do not go to school for various reasons (UNHCR, 2017). While key documents on education announce education as a valued principle and priority, in reality the resources needed to implement the objectives and values of these documents seem to have fallen short. This indicates that there is a gap between policy realizations and practice, and therefore there is a need for a research that builds understanding on the characteristics of this gap. With this thesis, my intention is to contribute to this need and research.

[5] UNHCR, Refugee Facts: Camps. UNHCR defines camps as temporary form of accommodation in UNHCR organized camps to provide immediate protection and safety for vulnerable groups of people who have been forced to flee their homes for violence and persecution. It should be noted that, unofficial refugee camps are also common in urban areas where people are living in self-organized camp-like communities. https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/camps/

[6] This figure only includes those with refugee status or refugee status consideration, and is excluding 41,3 million internally displaced people (IDP) and 3,5 million asylum seekers. The total number of people of concern for the UNHCR at the end of year 2018 was approximately 70,8 million.
Source: UN Refugee agency: https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/.

1.3 Research questions

In this thesis I attempt to answer three research questions. They have been formulated as follows:

1.What are the key documents saying about access to education in conflict related situations?

2.What kind of challenges are there in field practice in relation to the content of these documents?

3.Are the any gaps between policy and practice and if so, what are the factors contributing to these gaps?

Upon starting my research, I wanted to understand why in so many interactions with field operators in humanitarian action I sensed frustrations over the fact that they were not able to do what international standards and programs aim for. Therefore, I have focused my thesis on policy-practice analysis. Thought process behind the question setting is further explained below.

The purpose of the first research question is to understand policies that influence education. To do this, I decided to look into some key documents. I wanted to find out how access to education is defined by international standards. Furthermore, I was interested in what kind of special considerations, if any, are given to education arrangements on policy level in conflict related situations. With the second question, I want to see what challenges field practitioners face when implementing emergency education projects in conflict related settings. This question particularly rose from frustrations and criticisms of interviewees and people I had field discussions with during my research. With the third question, I intent to contribute to an overall discussion on humanitarian action policy and practice by identifying whether there are gaps between what is said in the selected key documents and what are the messages from the field. By answering these research questions further understanding can be gained on where the main disconnects between policy and practice are and how are they characterized.

1.4 Structure of thesis

I have begun this thesis with an Introduction explaining central themes and angle of the research, as well as my research questions. Chapter 2 will then further elaborate the context and concepts of the thesis and clarify the lines on what is included in the broad topic of education. In this chapter, I will also provide a brief overview of previous significant research on the research topic. Chapter 3 on Research Methodology and Data will have three parts: first part will introduce theories that have influenced this research; second part is dedicated to describing methods of analysis; and the third part will introduce data collection processes according to the methodology. Chapter 4 will then cut into analysis of my research data, methods and findings of the research. In this chapter I will look deeper behind the documents assessed and the empirical evidence from field research, to answer my research questions introduced in Chapter 1.3. Besides analysing policy and practice separately, I will paint a picture of the gap that exists between the two. In this section I will further elaborate on the changing nature of a crisis, distance between policy drafters and field actors creating different realities, coordination and management of operations. Chapter 4 will also realize and announce the limitations and opportunities of the study. In this section I will recognize the numerous important research topics that this study simply could not sheer more light on due to the multifaceted nature of the topic of access to education in humanitarian context. Finally, in Chapter 5 I will present concluding remarks on the research and the outcomes.

2. Context and Concepts

In a broader sense of academic research this thesis is placed under the context of humanitarian action. I have purposely chosen ‘humanitarian action’ over its alternatives of commonly used humanitarian aid or humanitarian assistance. Humanitarian action as a concept provides a more neutral tone than its alternatives. There are several reasons for this choice, but the most significant factor is a perspectival motivation and inspiration to see humanitarian action through the lenses of cooperation rather than ‘giver and receiver’ point of view. This choice of perspectives is inspired by anthropologist and development specialist David Mosse, aid-critical author Dambisa Moyo and former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, for their highlighted notions on cooperative actions on humanitarianism and development (Mosse, 2005; Moyo, 2009; Annan, 1993). Humanitarian action provides us with a concept that aligns with the notion of shifting in the “architecture of aid” (Mosse, 2005; Riddell, 1987). With this shift Mosse refers to a new aid framework that highlights governance, cooperation and more flexible and free financial systems within international aid (Mosse, 2005). In this architecture, public sector management - in which

education is included - is brought into the overall discussion between participants in aid management rather than it being isolated to be only an internal matter and concern of the ruling regime (Mosse, 2005). Therefore, the nature of assistance changes from givers and receivers to action that takes place in partnership. With the use of *action*, we bring the concept of humanitarianism closer to 'contract', while *aid* or *assistance* might refer to 'gift' (Eyben & León, 1999). Humanitarian action as a concept will be further discussed in section 2.2.2. Humanitarian action includes all the same elements as it's alternatives. The aim of such action, whether it is a deployment of actors into a crisis area, flow of monetary resources, or other types of action, is as per European Consensus of Humanitarian Aid (further referred to as ECHA) to provide "needs-based emergency response to preserve life, prevent and alleviate human suffering and maintain human dignity" (ECHA, 2007). As mentioned before in Introduction, education has often been seen as an element to preserve quality of life and to advance security measures. With this notion, access to education can be placed under the definition by ECHA. The research questions on policy and practice will be answered based on this contextual framework.

More in depth, contextually this thesis will focus on the education sector as a central element in the illustration of the connection and disconnect between policies in the form of documented commitments[7] and field feedback and practices. It has been affirmed in recent research that, different to what has been thought in the past, education is an underlying factor in many other development and humanitarian initiatives taking place in emergencies as well as in sustainable development sectors (UNESCO, 2019; Lutz, 2015). For instance, upon adoption of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development in 2015 the international community realized that education was a uniting factor for all of the 17 goals in the document (UNESCO, 2015). While education appears in other important documents such as Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), and UNHCR Education Strategy of 2012-2016, the 2030 Agenda could be said to have played a turning point in how education in general was viewed in the sphere of humanitarian action. This is not least because the document's realized nature of education as a connector in policy, but attached to the Agenda is also Framework for Action, that guides

7 One could argue that, 'commitments' is rather a strong choice of wording for this instance, but I will use it regardless due to reasons explained further in chapter 3.1.2 "Document Analysis". I will show that, the nature of the written text and choices of wording in the documents under observation lean towards 'commitments' rather than 'goals' or 'aims', for instance, as more neutral expressions.

practitioners and participants towards fulfilling the objectives of the Agenda. The 2030 Agenda will be further investigated in chapters 3 and 4.

In this chapter, I will further explain the contextual circumstances in which my research operates, as well as the key concepts that are relevant in this study. In the last part of this chapter I will elaborate the theoretical basis that is influencing this thesis. I will also introduce some of the most important previous research that has been done on this topic prior to my study.

2.1 Research context

The overall context of this thesis folds around education sector in the context of humanitarian action. Education policy and practice are the defining perspectives from which the education sector is observed and analysed. In other words, to find answers to the research questions both policy and practice need to be analysed separately as well as in relation to each other. Lastly, conflict's role in this research is to specify the circumstances and context in which policy and practice are analysed upon. Humanitarian action in conflict related circumstances provide an institutionalized standard procedure perspective to the research. These standard procedures are defined by, for instance, set principles set forward by International Humanitarian Law, the Geneva Convention of 1977, and humanitarian principles produced for NGO's acting in conflict or post-conflict settings (Macintosh, 2000; ICRC; van Voorts & Hilhorst). Conflict setting defines the urgency and represents the special conditions in which policies are created and practice is operating in. Each element in this equation is equal and in linkage to one another, therefore it is logical to understand the contextual framework in a parallel rather than hierarchical form.

2.1.1 Education Policy and Practice

Education policies in different countries in general take place on the national level as a part of their public sector management planning. However, in an emergency situation international standards and procedures have been introduced to help states respond and coordinate through special circumstances (UNHCR, 2020). For these special circumstances international community and international organizations have set out standards for procedures to roll out education programs for refugees, for instance (UNHCR, 2020). In this mix of national and international policy setting political power relations are visible (see e.g. Cormier, 2018; Abdulai, 2017; Telleria, 2017). The policy setting procedure and practice, as well as the power relations dilemma will be further used as a subject of analysis in chapter 4.

In humanitarian action, different sectors responsible for different areas of action and practice have been divided into clusters. In the public management sector, education cluster is responsible for the practical arrangements in education. This includes but is not limited to building infrastructure for education such as school buildings, toilet facilities and spaces for after-school activities. Over the years of education program management, the sector has divided education based on two aspects: formal and non-formal education. In refugee and conflict related situations, such as in the case of Za'atari refugee camp, formal education is organized by the host states and non-formal education activities are carried out by field actors such as international and local non-governmental organizations. In emergency and refugee camp settings, UNICEF has been tasked with the responsibility to coordinate field practices in education. This includes management and monitoring of funding. UNICEF is also in many cases the link to government to coordinate between formal and non-formal schooling activities.

2.1.2 Conflict: Syrian civil war

"Syria is the biggest humanitarian and refugee crisis of our time, a continuing cause of suffering for millions which should be garnering a groundswell of support around the world."
Filippo Grandi, UNHCR High Commissioner, 2019

In order to later on introduce the case study of this thesis, Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan, it is crucial to understand the background context of the people and beneficiaries in question and the circumstances they come from. 98 percent of the nearly 80,000 residents of Za'atari come from different parts of Syria (UNHCR, 2019c). While this is a significant number of people, they are only part of the 12 million people who have been displaced and in dire need for humanitarian support as a result of the civil war that has been tearing the country apart since 2011 (Global Centre for Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 2019; Al Jazeera, 2018; Council on Foreign Relations, 2019). According to humanitarian data, from the nearly 12 million persons of concern approximately half, 6,2 million people, are internally displaced within Syria (OCHA, 2020). Rest of the persons of concern have fled Syria mainly to neighbouring countries with hopes to return to their homes one day.

Nearly after a decade of conflict there is no peaceful resolution at sight. According to OCHA situation reports, the humanitarian situation has been worsening since November 2019 due to increased hostilities and livelihoods related concerns such as floods, drought and lack of food,

leading to further mass movements of people (OCHA,2020a). International organizations working in humanitarian action on the conflict have been concerned with challenges to provide adequate responses to the worsening situations whilst funding flows are decreasing (OCHA, 2020b; Friedrich, 2016). The issue of funding has turned out to be one of the greatest challenges in humanitarian action policy and practice. This issue will be further analysed through the case study in chapters 3 and 4.

2.2 Key concepts

With this thesis I contribute to the discussion on education as a part of humanitarian action. In this section I will introduce key concepts relevant to this study. These concepts will also be central elements in answering my research questions in analysis in chapter 4.

2.2.1 Access to Education

Access to education is more than an ability to go to a school. Field actors have described access in a multifaceted manner to include different aspects to explain access. For instance, Education Cannot Wait (further referred to as ECW), a global initiative on education that was created as a result of the World Humanitarian Summit of 2016, defines access in the following terms:

"The education system is nondiscriminatory and accessible to all, and positive steps are taken to include the most marginalised" (ECW, 2018).

Per ECW's definition, *access* is more than a physical availability of schools and schooling. It also includes an *intention* to broaden the availability of access. In this thesis, the concept of access to education is treated in the context of an emergency, and therefore the concept needs to be defined in relevant terms. One of the most trusted policy actors and forums in education is International Network for Education in Emergencies (further referred to as INEE), which is a network of over 15,000 experts and 130 organizations working in education in crisis contexts in policy and practice (INEE, 2019). Education in Emergencies (further referred to as EiE) is a sub concept on its own and refers to set of standards brought forward by INEE. The standards of EiE include "quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher and adult education" (INEE, 2019).

INEE has published significant research and guidelines on access to education specifically in humanitarian emergencies and is considered a fundamental guiding institution for policy makers and field actors in education in emergencies (see e.g. INEE, 2010). Per INEE, access in education can be defined as follows:

"National authorities, communities and humanitarian organisations have a responsibility to ensure that all individuals have access to relevant, quality education in secure learning environments. This promotes the physical protection and psychosocial wellbeing of learners, teachers and other education personnel" (INEE, 2019d).

In this definition all key elements of access are included. Not only is access dependant on physical infrastructures to provide education, such as school buildings or classrooms, but what also matters is what happens inside those classrooms. The learning environments need to be safe for everyone; learning and teaching need to be relevant to students' age and schooling stage; and education needs to be meaningful and lead to expected outcomes through quality. *Access* to what education entails as whole is at the centre of this concept. In this light, studies have suggested that, without access we cannot have the other elements discussed in the theme of education crisis, such as facilities, quality, learning and enrolment (INEE, 2019a; Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Lee, 2004). Therefore, in this thesis access is understood not as one term but as a concept that contains elements of what creates a system in education. This concept will be further applied in chapter 4 when analysing access in policy and practice and the connection between the two.

2.2.2 Humanitarian action

Humanitarian action stands under the broader concept of instruments of development cooperation. Under the same concept are official development aid (ODA) and humanitarian aid. In general, development aid, also referred to as development assistance, per OEDC-DAC definition is government monetary aid "designed to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries" (OECD, 2018). While this is an important element in development studies in general, for the purposes of this study the analysis will focus on the concept of humanitarian aid for its more close relevance to actions taking place in the humanitarian concept. It should be noted and repeated that, while the concept is explained through the definition of aid, in this thesis humanitarian aid is referred to as humanitarian action.

Humanitarian aid per OECD-DAC definition aims to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity in the aftermath of natural disasters or human made conflicts (OECD, 2018). In this thesis I will apply and interpret the concept of humanitarian action solely in the context of human-made armed conflict.

For the purpose of this research I will use EU framework to understand these concepts. EU Member States along with the European Commission are the world's largest donors in the international scale of relief and humanitarian assistance (ECHO, 2017). Nevertheless, EU has created mutual guidelines and values which all Member States are committed to base their national policies and actions on, and all these together follow the definition set forward by the OECD-DAC. These guidelines and values are outlined in two key documents; European Consensus on Development (2005 and 2017) and European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid (2007). According to the Consensus the purpose of development aid must be in reduction and ultimately in eradication of poverty (2017). Similarly, humanitarian aid's common objectives are defined in the Consensus in provision of "needs-based emergency response to preserve life, prevent and alleviate human suffering and maintain human dignity" (2017). It should be repeated that, in this thesis humanitarian action stands for humanitarian aid for toning and perception purposes (see 2: Context and Concepts).

In this thesis, the demand for a needs-based emergency response has resulted from a humanitarian emergency caused by the Syrian civil war. Humanitarian emergency provides special circumstances for humanitarian action and analysis on access to education. The foundation of humanitarian action under any circumstances is to "do no harm" (e.g. Patel & Wild, 2018; Mac Ginty & Williams, 2009; Greene et al., 2006; Siitonen in Alava, 2010). This means that, whatever course of action takes place in protecting civilians and responding to a humanitarian crisis it can cause no harm to the beneficiaries. In a humanitarian emergency different approaches to action may take place. Humanitarian response plans (HRPs) include actors from UN agencies, NGOs and other relevant parties (UNOCHA, n.d.). These plans are usually put in place ahead of time and presented in a Global Humanitarian Overview that maps out assessments and needs in different humanitarian emergencies (UNOCHA, ibid.). Emergency plans (or flash appeals) are designed to provide a strategy method for crisis and acute needs. Regional response plans (RRPs) are regional plans that address specifically addressing the needs of refugees in a certain regional area (UNOCHA, ibid.). In the context of this thesis, the response strategies in the case study of access to education of Syrian

refugees in Za'atari refugee camp is based on international cooperation and the RRPs have been adopted as a central element in the humanitarian action policy and practice.

Lastly, I will refer to the systems of operational and policy structures in humanitarian action as *architecture.* Architecture has been frequently used to describe humanitarian action in the field of development, and besides being relevant it also provides a descriptive concept for the overall system of humanitarian action (see e.g. Gonzales, 2016; OECD, 2013).

2.3 Previous Research

Structures and architecture of educational systems and humanitarian action have been previously researched, although mainly separately in an academic sense. There are numerous cases of country studies of education reforms taking place in challenging conflict or disaster ridden places (see e.g. Baker & Wiseman, 2005; Glewwe, 2014; Assié-Lumumba, 2006). In these studies, educational challenges have been portrayed in the light of each country's context.

Similarly, the humanitarian system and the ability of local and global forces to respond to crisis has been researched from many (critical) angles (see e.g. Barnett & Weiss, 2008; Bhatia 2003). Many previous research, however, focus on crisis management and peacebuilding and the international community's ability to react to an armed conflict. There are also numerous cases of research that deal with different sectors in the humanitarian system, such as WASH related research. Education, however, has only recently gained foothold in academic research from the humanitarian angle, while most related studies are conducted by international organizations and NGO's based on their projects in humanitarian action. Therefore, there is room for more academic research and discussion on education as a component of humanitarian action. My topic and research on access to education in humanitarian action contributes to this discussion.

In terms of the education sector, more research has focused on education as a part of development processes in more peaceful contexts and in regional or country specific settings (see e.g. Skinner et al., 2016; Takala, 2007). While the context of development cooperation is different from humanitarian action, the themes are relatable. Skinner et al. (ibid.), for instance, have argued that, there is a gap that exists between development and education especially in terms of what each of them aims to achieve. According to the authors, development aims to transform societies and education aims to empower the beneficiaries (Skinner et al., ibid.). The authors are suggesting that

the development system is not working and alternative measurements and processes to result-based development activities need to be explored to allow better functioning processes in education and learning to take place in the development sector. “This may well require a fundamental questioning of the international institutionalized education and development frameworks” (Skinner et al., ibid).

Harber (2014; 2004; 1989), is one of the most critical authors in education and development. Most notably, he has criticised the role of education in development projects (Harber, 2014). He has also highlighted emotional and psychological effects of school environments. For instance, he has researched the effects of physical violence in schools as a promoter of further violence and social problems (Harber, 2004). There are traces of this notion in my research, which will be mentioned in chapter 4.

While the before mentioned research is focusing on education in the development sector it is strongly connected to the themes in my thesis. Arguments and concerns of similar nature have surfaced from international forums and my data (further elaborated in chapters 3 and 4): access to education in humanitarian crisis require increased attention, for situations requiring humanitarian action are increasing and prevailing in the current world.

Nevertheless, education as a part of humanitarian action has been previously researched mainly from the refugees’ rights perspectives. Some notable works include McCarthy & Vickers (2012) and their study on refugee and immigrant students’ right to access to education. In their work they also highlight the status of international forces, policies and influence combined with national and state efforts to realize and fulfil educational rights of refugees. Dunn (2017) has studied specifically (education in) camp and displacement settings and the special conditions and context that they create to beneficiaries seeking for fulfilment of their human rights.

Besides academic research, there have been numerous evaluations, studies and analytic reports on humanitarian action. These are often case and/or context specific. For instance, humanitarian action in the Syrian refugee crisis has been evaluated both internally by participating entities, actors and organizations, and externally for transparency purposes. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) frequently publishes externally conducted assessments on developments in crisis response regarding Syria (see e.g. Sida et al., 2016; Darcy, 2016). In these reports strongly visible are successes and shortcomings and the gap between aims and achievements.

Therefore, considering the emphasis on education in international forums, documents and discussion, there is a need for increased amount of research that deals specifically with education in humanitarian action.

3) Research Methodology and Data

The basis of this research lays on a foundation of qualitative research. One of the aims of qualitative research is to illustrate how social phenomena are constituted in real time (Silvermann, 2016). Qualitative research is based on data that can be collected by various means through, for instance, text, speech, visuals, observation notes and case studies (Silvermann, 2016; Rapley in Silvermann, 2016; Watson & Seiler, 1992). With this research method, we can look deeper into the available data and what lies within and beneath the obvious findings, direct text, numbers and figures. On one hand, qualitative research can be combined with a method or methods of analysis that complement the purpose of qualitative research but, on the other hand set standards for the research to ensure reliability of the analysis and research outcomes. In this thesis, I have chosen qualitative research method with emphasis on discourse analysis, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The aim of my research is to analyse the connection between policy and practice in educational arrangements in the context of humanitarian action through both written and empirical evidence. I will contribute to an understanding of what education policies are aiming to achieve in terms of access, and how access is realized in practice. I will investigate how policy and practice are connected and what challenges there might be in bridging the two. By using qualitative research method, I will be able to illustrate the characteristics and underlying factors, motivations, and circumstances of policies and practices in place. Throughout this research, the voices of policy makers will be heard through international policy documents and the voices of the practitioners through interviews and a case study. To execute qualitative research in this thesis, and to answer to my research questions 1 and 3 (see 1.3), I have selected key documents to explore their contexts and contents regarding access to education. Interview and case study methods are deployed to get a better understanding of practices in access to education as they refer to the before mentioned texts, and to answer research questions 2 and 3.

3.1 Theoretical Approach

The central theoretical approach in this thesis is tied around poststructuralist development theory (PSDT). While PSDT is rather a broad theoretical concept, my focus is influenced by Schmidt's understanding of discursive institutionalism (DI) in the sense that institutions are open to interventions by politics, interests and actors (Schmidt, 2010; Panizza & Miorelli, 2012). In the context of this thesis, I treat humanitarian practices as an institution that are guided by the policy institutions including but not limited to governments, international organizations and the humanitarian system itself. The most central approach and viewpoint is that structures and architectures that prevail in the context of humanitarian action and access to education are constructed through values, politics and interests of policy authors and field operators. There are both short and long term effects that stem from these structures, which will be further discussed in chapter 4.

Schmidt (2008), has argued that, "discourse is not just ideas or "text" (what is said) but also context (where, when, how, and why it was said). The term refers not only to structure (what is said, or where and how) but also to agency (who said what to whom)". For this thesis, the concept of *agency* is central especially when analysing the selected key documents. Schmidt's notion on 'discursive communities' is also relevant to my research for it links policy and practice actors with similar interests to operate together as influencers and doers within their areas of policy or practice (Schmidt, 2010). In this thesis, discursive communities are, for instance, field actors who are operating on the practical side of what policies set out.

In terms of PSDT, there are some notable examples of work in which PSDT and DI approaches have been successfully used. Rajeswar (2010), has argued that institutions (such as education) have become more responsive to economic forces causing an unfavourable adaptation into "de-humanized" education. Market forces and economic interests and incentives have created an intervention in the education sector that isolates the education as an institution from its purpose: empowerment of people (Rajeswar, ibid.). Although not being the sole focus of my thesis, the influence of economic interests will also become evident in this study briefly further in chapter 4.

In a similar tone, Bay, Haynes & Western (2019), have argued that there is a continuous application of economic thinking in different areas of lives and industries that has defined institutions in a new way in the current time. In their study on "social work institution" they found that, perspectives on

social realities are formed through combinations of discourses and institutions are sensitive to interventions with strong implications (Bay et al., ibid.). In the authors' experience, theorizations in post-structural basis help us understand the discursive realities, contexts and concepts that we operate in (Bay et al., ibid).

Based on this foundation and these perspectives, PSDT and DI are useful tools to contribute to a discussion on humanitarian action and access to education, for the constructs in these systems come in many forms (further elaborated chapter 4). Building on the foundation of Schmidt's notions on DI, discursive communities and agency, I attempt to contribute to the discussion on humanitarian action architecture from the perspective of access to education.

3.2 Method of Analysis: Discourse analysis

The main method of analysis is discourse analysis. The incidence angle is inspired by Fairclough's notion on the relationship and dialogue between text and content (Fairclough, 2006). Fairclough (2003) argues that, discourses are means to represent different aspects of the world - including material world, mental world (such as thoughts and beliefs), as well as social world – from different angles. In his less recent work, Fairclough (1992) has argued that discourses do not only mirror or epitomize social entities and relations, but they also construct or constitute them depending on the policy maker or practitioner, for instance.

To complement Fairclough's perspectives in this study, an important dimension of analysis are Van Dijk's ideas of discourse analysis through cognitive influences. In these processes, he has emphasized the role of beliefs, values, and social environments of, for instance, while making public policy (Van Dijk, 2001; Van Dijk 1997). In this light, policies nor actions are never truly neutral and purely objective, but they are motivated by the backgrounds and value systems of the environments in which they are produced in. He believes that policy making is a socio-cognitive process, in which neutrality is rare and hard to find (Van Dijk, 2001). Van Dijk (1997) also sees discourse as a practical, social, and cultural phenomenon. Social interactions are entrenched in different social and cultural contexts that can be informal or formal, in other words in the form of conversation or policy, for instance. Furthermore, if we look at discourse as an action, based on Van Dijk's perspectives, we can concentrate on the interactive particularities of talk or text itself: how is a conversation or a policy constructed and what kind of tone does it have, or how are field actors interpreting policies into practical action.

Similarly, Foucault has argued that, discourses should be studied archeologically and genealogically (Foucault, in Morris & Patton, 1979). By this, he means that discourses are always constructed by system of relations between different elements and powers, such as individuals, institutions and knowledge (Foucault, ibid.). While Foucault's analytic methods will not directly be used in this study, the notions on power support the previous perspectives on discourses and have influenced the thought processes in which the analysis is approached.

Discourse analysis goes hand in hand with the theoretical approach of this study; discursive communities create an angle to produce, read and interpret policies based on value systems, beliefs and environments in which the policy makers and practitioners operate in. Although analysing discourses can give detailed information about the discursive perspectives of specific policy authors and field actors, it can also take a more expansive viewpoint and display the social, political or cultural functions of discourse in society and culture in general (Van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Chilton, 2005).

I have selected this methodological approach to answer to my research questions introduced in chapter 1.3. The aim of my methodology, on one hand, is to investigate what possibly constructs policies; what kind of discourses are they built on, specifically in terms of the aspect of access in education. The methodology will also help me to contribute to discussions on field operators' role in bringing the documents' content into real life activities. Lastly, by approaching this research with an angle that realizes the biases and constructs of documents and actors I will be able to contribute to an analysis on what kind of challenges are there to connect policy and practice to have a well-functioning architecture of humanitarian action.

3.3 Data Collection: Key documents, semi-structured interviews and my case study

The data for this qualitative study has been gathered by three means; selecting and investigating key documents, interviewing key informants, and doing a case study. Information from selected key documents has been gathered mainly by taking notes from online sources and available hard copies. All interviews were recorded with the informants' permission while taking notes by hand at the same time. The interviews were later on transcribed for the purpose of analysis. Information for the case study, at least on the field visit, was documented by taking field observation notes.

3.3.1 Key documents

First, I have selected seven key documents to exemplify written policies in access to education. To select the key documents, I have deemed it important to include documents that set the foundation for education as a human right. INEE has defined education as a human right based on standards of non-discrimination; states' obligation to ensure the fulfilment of this right; and accountability of fulfilling the right to education (INEE, 2019b). The selected documents pursue the same ideology of education as a human right that belongs to all.

In equal importance, the selected documents represent both policy and practical side of educational arrangements in crisis and humanitarian setting. The following criteria has been set in place for the purpose of this study when selecting the documents in question: universal applicability; relevance to access to education theme; connection to practice. I believe this criteria helps to connect these documents with the research questions of this study for they cover both policy and practical aspects of access to education. It is also worth noting that, the selected documents are different of nature: legally binding and legally non-binding. I wanted to focus on documents that are relevant to today's practices and frequently referenced in the field of education. While some of the documents are older they still play a vital role in humanitarian action and development policy today and therefore have been selected as key documents. Furthermore, while these key documents have been selected at the core of this research and analysis it should be noted that these represent only a fraction of policy materials that could and should be utilized when looking at the big picture. There are also other important documents mentioned throughout this study that are important, but I have chosen to focus my deeper analysis on these key documents.

The key documents, in no particular order of importance, for this study include A) United Nations Convention relating on the Status of Refugees (1951); B) Convention on the Rights of the Child (esp. Articles 27 & 28) (1989); C) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (esp. Article 13) (1966); D) New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016); E) Education 2030 Agenda & Framework for Action (2015) F) UNHCR Emergency Handbook: Education in Emergencies (n.d.); G) INEE Minimum Standards for Education (esp. Domains Two & Five) (2010). From these documents, A, B and C are legally binding and documents D, E, F and G are legally non-binding. Further in the text when appropriate, these documents will also be referred to according to their alphabet in the previous listing. In the following table (Table 3.1), each document

and their profiles are introduced. Further in chapter 4, I will expand the table to understand the key content especially in terms of access to education for deeper analysis.

Alpha	Document title	Document type	Author(s)	Profile of the document
A	United Nations Convention relating on the Status of Refugees (1951)	Legally binding	United Nations Member States/United Nations Office of High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR)	Defines status of refugees and outlines responsibilities of states (145 original signatories)
B	Convention on the Rights of the Child (esp. Articles 27 & 28) (1989)	Legally binding	United Nations General Assembly (GA)	Through UNGA Resolution 44/25 the Convention enshrines that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance
C	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (esp. Article 13)	Legally binding	United Nations General Assembly	Through UNGA Resolution 2200A (XXI) the Covenant recognizes the right of every human being to economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights (incl. education)
D	New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016)	Legally non-binding	United Nations General Assembly	Through UNGA Resolution 71/1 the Declaration highlights the need for an international response to a global phenomenon of increased movements of migrants and refugees
E	Education 2030 Agenda & Framework for Action (2015)	Legally non-binding	United Nations Member states, UN agencies, civil society representatives	Through the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030 parties of the document set out vision for education for the next decades; UNESCO leading and coordinating the Agenda
F	UNHCR Emergency Handbook: Education in Emergencies (n.d.)	Legally non-binding	UNHCR	Sets out standards for procedures in arranging education in an emergency, such as conflict situation
G	INEE Minimum Standards for Education (esp. Domains Two & Five) (2010).	Legally non-binding	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)	Document provides governments and humanitarian actors tools to address educational needs in emergencies and is widely used in the field

Table 3.1

Discourse analysis provides valuable tools to determine what to highlight from the selected documents for the table form presentation and analysis. For instance, document A was composed in the aftermath of WWII in 1951 as a result of significant displaced populations within Europe (UNHCR, 2010). Van Dijk's (2001) notions on social environments and value based policies apply to document A in a sense that the social circumstances demanded such policy driven action in a new situation in war ridden Europe, and the humanitarian political climate (the idea that the displaced populations needed to be helped) at the time allowed this to happen. Nevertheless, the status of the document (legally binding or non-binding) speaks for the power of the document, which aligns with

Foucault's notions on power relations (Foucault, 1979; Foucault, 2008). The authors determine the status and angle of the document, as Van Dijk (2001) has claimed through his statements on the role of backgrounds and value systems. The "profile" of each document intends to summarize what is said and what the purpose of the document is. This aligns with Fairclough's discursive thinking between text and content (Fairclough, 2006). The profile combined with the other aspects create a reality around each document that allows analysis between policy and practice to take place. In other words, an analysis of the documents will help me to answer research question 1 (see section 1.3) and elaborate on the dilemma of how do policy documents contribute to increased access to education.

3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Second, I have applied semi-structured interview method with education experts and field practitioners from United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to gain further understanding and perspective on the challenges of connecting policy and practice in access to education. Semi-structured interviews are designed to have a set of open and broad thematic questions prepared in advance, but the questions need to be formed in such manner that allows enough flexibility to accommodate unpredictable answers (Wengraf, 2001). Rapley, Wengraf and Galletta have argued and agreed that, in semi-structured interview method a relationship building through neutral, facilitative and "rapport"-like approach is invaluable to a successful interview (Rapley, 2004; Wengraf, 2001; Galletta, 2012). They also highlight that, while question formation is an important part of semi-structured interviews, the interviewers need not to over concern themselves with being leading or un-empathetic with their interviews but rather focus on the interaction between them and their interviewees. Wengraf (ibid.) specifically encourages offering both off the record and on the record conversation with interviewees, even with the risk that the off the record conversation might bring up something important to the research.

In terms of questions, semi-structured interviews combine both open ended and theoretically driven questions that allow the participant to reflect on their experiences as well as the interviewer to find out what the underlying constructs might be (Galletta, 2012). In other words, this method allows for structure but enough room for conversation-like encounter in which the speakers will have an opportunity to raise issues, matters and views that they consider to be of importance for the topic at hand. With this method, I believe I was able to capture a broader picture of realities in the field

regarding access to education. Moreover, due to limited time in the field I believe this choice allows a more in depth data outcome reflecting the realities in the field.

While I had a set of questions (ANNEX I) prepared for the interviews, every interview was different and embodied the profile of semi-structured interviews; some interviewees wanted to spend more time in one topic than others, and in some cases I did not have to ask all the questions directly to get answers to the pre-prepared questions.

In the selection of informants I used a snowball effect method (see e.g. Sage Publications & Lavrakas, 2008). Once I had determined from what kind of angle I wanted to research education and humanitarian policy and practice I started contacting different parties, who then referred me to other potential informants. In the initial stages, I received a significant amount of help from my supervisors in the Permanent Mission of Finland to the United Nations, in which I was doing my internship in, to interview informants in Geneva, Switzerland. While arranging my field research in Jordan, I got referrals for informants from my contacts at the NGO that was helping me to get access to the restricted camp site of Za'atari. Nevertheless, through these contacts I was also able to attend a joint monthly meeting of a working group in education, that consists of field operators in Za'atari. The meeting was hosted at the office of UNICEF in Amman, Jordan. 28 organizations were present, with 43 participants. In this meeting I was simply acting as an observer. For this study I am utilizing my field observation notes from the meeting to compliment my research.

For this thesis I have interviewed a total of fifteen (15) participants. From this number, eight (8) were NGO workers working in the field of education in emergency settings. The rest seven (7) were teachers of Syrian origin living and working in Zaatari refugee camp in the field of non-formal education with experience from the formal education sector. A total of seven (7) different organizations are represented. From the informants, eight (8) were male and seven (7) were female.

Prior to my field research (see section 3.3.3). I conducted two of the interviews over Skype and 13 in person before, after and during the field visit. Some of the interviews I conducted while in Geneva in 2017, but since my focus for the case was not clear at that time they are not comparable to interviews made specifically around the context of Jordan, Za'atari and refugees in Jordan. However, I believe they should not be left un-noted due to their significance in understanding the international value base of access to education.

The interview lengths varied between 30-75 minutes. All were individual one-on-one interviews in person or via Skype, except the teachers were in groups of four and three. When interviewing my informants I spent the first 20 to 30 minutes to get to know them and for them to get to know me to build trust between us. Similarly, while interviewing some informants I quickly discovered that I would have to pay special attention to the background of the speaker, for the background set forward the discursive perspective that they spoke with.

The interviews were conducted with respect to total anonymity. Each informant has been coded for this study in order to ensure the participants' anonymity and protection of identity. In the below table I have listed the interviews with brief profiles of each informant. The selected information in the profile is based on the need of analysis. The basis of this selection will be further elaborated in pages 28-29. One-on-one interviews are identified with W1, W2, W3, and so forth. Group interviews have two-part codes: G1 and G2 for the groups and T1, T2, T3, and so forth to represent each participant in the group. Interviews will be referred to through these codes later on in analysis in chapter 4.

Interviewee	**Profile of informant**
W1	Senior official in an international organization; Geneva, Switzerland
W2	Official with humanitarian field work responsibilities in an international organization; Geneva, Switzerland
W3	NGO senior official; formerly officer in MoE in Jordan; Amman, Jordan; interview over Skype
W4	NGO worker with both office and field responsibilities; Amman, Jordan; interview over Skype
W5	NGO worker in field operations; Amman/Za'atari Camp, Jordan
W6	NGO worker with both office and field responsibilities; Amman/Za'atari Camp, Jordan
W7	NGO senior official with both office and field experience; formerly officer in MoE in Jordan; Amman/Za'atari Camp, Jordan
W8	NGO senior official with frequent field management duties; Helsinki, Finland
G1 with T1,T2,T3,T4	Group of teachers in Za'atari refugee camp working for an NGO in non-formal education programs
T1	Syrian teacher; 7 years in Za'atari refugee camp; working for an NGO in administrative tasks around non-formal education activities
T2	Syrian teacher; 7 years in Za'atari refugee camp; working for an NGO in non-formal education activities

T3	Syrian teacher; 7 years in Za'atari refugee camp; working for an NGO in non-formal education activities
T4	Syrian football coach; 1 year in Za'atari refugee camp; working for an NGO in non-formal education activities
G2 with T5,T6,T7	Group of teachers in Za'atari refugee camp working for an NGO in non-formal education programs
T5	Syrian teacher with MA degree in secondary education; 7 years in Za'atari refugee camp, 3 years working for an NGO in non-formal education activities
T6	Syrian teacher with MA degree in secondary education; 7 years in Za'atari refugee camp; 6 months working for an NGO in non-formal education activities
T7	Syrian teacher; years in camp or working for NGO not revealed; working for an NGO in non-formal education activities

Building trust was a central element in my methodology in this qualitative research. Wilson and Hodgson (in Love, 2012), have argued that, trust in research is an "essential ingredient". Building trust is a mutual process that both researcher and informers can either enhance or weaken (Wilson & Hodgson, ibid.) Having a trusting relationship between researcher and informant is also likely to support the success of the research through informative and honest interview materials. During my field research I concluded that while the interaction between the participating parties is important in trust building, equally important is the environment the interaction takes place. Creating a safe environment and communicating the confidentiality and anonymity of the research as early as possible help in building trust. Interviewees can have varying experiences and perspectives on the same issue, and the semi-structured model requires trust in the interview situation to allow these perspectives to be expressed.

In relation to different experiences and perspectives from the field, discourse analysis will help me in my attempt to contribute to the discussion on who controls access to education in field practice in humanitarian action. In this framework, some key elements in the interview analysis will be highlighted: background of informants, operational culture and power relations. Van Dijk's (2001; 1997) ideas that backgrounds affect the outcomes aligns with this choice of focus; what are the informants saying and why they might be saying it stems from their cultural and social backgrounds and value basis. Similarly, I want to investigate how operational culture may define how the practical, social and cultural circumstances are constructed. By analysing the discourse around the operational culture in field practice we may gain a better understanding on how the operative environment in humanitarian action is structured and what kind of challenges it brings to those carrying out (education) projects in the field. Nevertheless, when we analyse the operational culture

we may be able to identify power structures within the humanitarian action system that affects policy and practice.

In other words, through an analysis of the interviews and case study (next section 3.3.3) separately and together, I attempt to sheer light on how the humanitarian action system works and whether there are gaps between policy and practice, when looking through the lenses of field operators. Furthermore, through a discourse analysis of the field I will try to find answers to my research questions 2 and 3 (see section 1.3).

3.3.3 Case study

Third, I have selected a case study of Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan to portray the practical side of access to education in emergency situations. More common in anthropological studies but also well applicable to development studies research, I have chosen a research approach inspired by empirical research for this qualitative study through a case. Simons (2009) and Thomas & Myers (2015) have stated that, case studies are committed to studying complexities in real life situations and intend to explore them from multiple perspectives depending on each particular project's contexts. Gillham (2000) has argued that a *case,* in principle, can be a study of a phenomenon through human activity, individuals, groups or institutions in a specific context. In this thesis, case study presents an opportunity to study access to education (institution) in a conflict setting in a refugee camp (context).

Furthermore, Lund (2014), has defined a case study as an empirical reality in which some characteristics of the case are highlighted and emphasized, while others are left into the background. Case studies are always constructs of analysis and organization of information and knowledge (Lund, ibid.) In other words, case studies are hardly neutral or natural in an authentic way, but are constructed by the researcher's approach, decisions and background. When preparing for a case study, Lund (ibid.) argues, it is important to remember that while the researcher has knowledge and often an orientation towards the topic and possible field research period, it is important to be prepared for shifts and surprises in what comes out of the case. Therefore, case studies are not self-evident but open to fluctuations in outcomes. Lund encourages to alternate between specific and general, as well as concrete and abstract, when building and analysing a case (Lund, ibid.)

There are some research that have questioned the generalizability of case studies. Based on a case study, can we generalize a phenomenon or elements in the studied topic and therefore draw conclusions in a wider spectrum? For instance, can a case study on access to education in one refugee camp present reliable evidence of the field of education as a whole? Lincoln & Guba (in Foster, Gomm & Hammersley, 2000), have argued that, while generalizing results can be intriguing there are hardly ever cases that are context-free. Schofield (ibid.), agrees that generalization in case studies and qualitative studies in general is problematic, but defends case studies by speaking about "replicability" of results: while case studies are done in specific contexts we should focus more on the abstract findings to replicate the outcomes into a larger population or phenomenon.

Aligning these critical points with previously introduced theoretical and methodological approaches in this thesis (see 3.1 and 3.2), the importance of context and emphasizing abstract conclusions comes to mind. The abstract findings and acknowledging context may lead us to the core of the case and the discourses that it represents (Lund, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, in Foster, Gomm & Hammersley, 2000; Van Dijk, 2001).

My case study is focusing on humanitarian action within the education sector in Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and more specifically Za'atari refugee camp, which is one of the largest camps in the world hosting refugees of the Syrian civil war. Data collection for the case has been done mainly by participant observation and taking field notes, combined with discussions and semi-structured interviews during the field visit.

I have selected Za'atari as my case for several reasons. First, I have followed developments on the Syrian civil war and the refugee crisis that resulted from it from early stages. I produced a thesis for my Bachelor's degree in 2014 on the effects of the Syrian refugee flows to European border policies. Second, Za'atari presents a case study in a country that has experienced the impact of the civil war since the beginning of the conflict due to its shared border with Syria. Due to the large scale presence of refugees in Jordan and in Za'atari camp, I determined that it would be a desirable destination to get a clear picture of crisis management on access to education. Third, practical arrangements for the field visit efficiently moved forward after I contacted an organization that organizes non-formal education activities. The camp is only accessible through a registered and approved organization and getting a sponsoring agency was necessary.

4. Analysis

"*Education in emergencies, and during chronic crises and early reconstruction efforts, can be both life-saving and life-sustaining. It can save lives by protecting against exploitation and harm --"*
INEE, Minimum Standards of Education in Emergencies, 2004

Access to education has now been recognized as a crucial element in humanitarian action. Whether in policy or practice, efforts have been put in place to fulfil the promise of the UDHR and the right to education for everyone. In this chapter I will present analysis on policy and practice as they pertain to access to education in humanitarian action, using my research data and selected methodology. Through this analysis, I demonstrate how current policies and practices are connected and provide examples of some challenges that prevail in the architectures of the system of humanitarian action.

I will start with a description and analysis on the different ways *access* is perceived (4.1) on the policy level and amongst field practitioners in a humanitarian action and in a humanitarian emergency. To build upon this, I will move forward with a deeper analysis on the data findings from the selected policy documents (4.1.1), semi-structured interviews (4.1.2) and the case study (4.1.3), combined with an overall analysis on the structures and architectures of humanitarian action (4.1.4). I will explain what I read, heard, saw and sensed during the data collection process. As a result, all of the presented analysis in this chapter aims to find answers to my research questions (presented in 1.3). I will conclude the chapter by identifying limitations and opportunities of this study (4.2).

4.1 Access to Education in a Prolonged Humanitarian Emergency

As it was suggested in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2), humanitarian emergencies present special circumstances for the analysis on access to education. In comparison, general development research on education in a non-emergency or non-conflict setting suggest that family income levels and gender are the most significant factors influencing the level of access to education in many developing countries (Kiru & Cooc, 2018; World Bank, 2014). Access to education in the before mentioned development context is a subject to a discourse on a belief that *access* equals attendance;

the ability to go to school. In a humanitarian emergency setting, access is portrayed in various ways, which will be further elaborated through the analysis of my data and case study of Za'atari below. Access to education on policy level follows a similar pattern than the before mentioned example from development research. Based on the findings from my selected key documents, the earlier policies (such as documents A, B and C) consider access more simplistically as an ability to attend school. To illustrate this, document A speaks about "access to studies" and that states should provide as favourable educational opportunities as possible to refugees. Leaving room for interpretation, the document encourages those in charge of education (host states) to provide access to schooling. Moreover, documents B and C state that, states need to make primary education "compulsory and available free for all". In other words, the documents suggest that by requiring school attendance and having education available defines access. However, neither of them talk about any qualitative side of education and leaves it to the states to determine the qualitative aspects of education they (must) provide.

While the previously mentioned earlier documents treat access in a simplistic concrete way, there is progress in the understanding of access as a broader concept in policies through more recent policy documents. Field practice has developed over time and field actors have become more involved in policy making, which is manifested in the content regarding access to education especially in documents E, F and G. Instead of speaking about education and access in vague terms that leave much to interpretation, document E announces principles around education (Education Agenda 2030) and sets out strategies and targets to achieve practical results regarding the stated principles (Framework for Action). As an illustration, document E states its commitment towards SDG 4 to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all". Nonetheless, the document lists access to education as one of its primary goals, defining access to education as "free, publicly funded, equitable quality primary and secondary education, of which at least nine years are compulsory, leading to relevant learning outcomes". In this commitment, access refers to not only on ability to attend school, but also to learning and to relevance of education. For further illustration, documents F and G depict access to education through action. Both set out practical tools and standards for procedures that go beyond physical and practical access in the form of attendance. These documents discuss the role of education in humanitarian action in an emergency setting, long and short term, highlighting strategies on practical arrangements but also on learning and continuation of access to education in different levels.

My data suggests that actors on the operational side in field practice in humanitarian action perceive access in education as a broad concept. Most vocal about access were NGO workers who had field work responsibilities (W2, W4, W5, W6, W8). In the interviews, all before mentioned brought up the importance to look beyond having an ability to attend school and include aspects of (what students are) learning, relevant curriculum and psycho-social support in the discussion on access. In other words, practical or physical access to education is not enough to fulfil the human right to education. Access to education, therefore, has gone through a change that has led to a shift in the discourse.

In terms of access to learning, informants brought up a concern on whether students are learning in schools and through the education they are provided in emergency situations. For access to relevant curriculum, one of the informants (W7) commented that, when students come from a different country and are simply put in a classroom that reflects their age without considering the curriculum they have had in the past, the risk to drop out from school increases. In terms of psycho-social support, which appeared to be a popular term in almost all interviews and appears in multiple more recent policy documents, the informants highlighted the special conditions that a humanitarian emergency as a result of a conflict imposes on the beneficiaries of humanitarian action. Students in refugee camps, for instance, may have various psycho-social issues that require special attention when speaking of education and learning. In most discussions and interviews, this brought us to the question whether the teaching staff is equipped with an ability to face and consider these potential issues that come out in many forms in schools. Most of the teacher informants indicated that teaching staff is not trained for the circumstances to allow safe and supportive access to education to take place.

In general, access to education transpires in my research findings in many ways. In the table below (Table 4.1) the key findings regarding what prevents and what enables access to education in humanitarian action are presented. These findings reflect the reoccurring themes that emerged from the selected documents, interviews and discussions in my case study.

Key findings on access to education in humanitarian action	
What prevents access	What enables access
Non-prioritization of education in humanitarian action agenda	Prioritization of education in humanitarian action agenda

Unpredictable and decreasing funding flows	Stable and sufficient need-based funding
Unsuitable curriculum choices and difficulty in acknowledging of previous studies	Relevance of curriculum and easy transitions to a new educational system
Cultural differences; negative family attitudes towards education	Family support; positive and encouraging attitudes towards education to reach all school-aged children
Under-trained teaching staff; not prepared to teach pupils with specific needs in refugee camp setting which can lead to harmful disciplinary methods used at schools	Quality of teaching and training of teaching staff for special circumstances in refugee camps; teachers equipped with tools to respond to symptoms of conflict-related trauma or stress
Lack of attention to psycho-social support	Adequate psycho-social support
Disorganization of field actors	Effective and clear coordination and management of field actors
Inadequate infrastructures; absence of functioning and adaptable facilities, lack of electricity	Functioning infrastructures; facilities that can be used in different circumstances and temperatures, and that have electricity for heating, air-conditioning and utilization of different teaching methods (technology)

Table 4.1.

Consequently, the findings on access to education align with Schmidt's notions on discursive communities (Schmidt, 2010). Without knowing about each other, with the exception of participants in the group interviews (G1, G2), the informants brought up reoccurring themes in separate interviews. In this light, because of their backgrounds (field experience) and expertise (education) the informants might view concepts from a similar angle and sheer light on reoccurring themes. Depending on their knowledge base and educational background, they might be also basing their perspectives on research and policy documents. Informants W1, W2, and W3, for instance, referred to document G in the interviews when asked about best practices for the field in humanitarian action. This type of phenomenon aligns with Foucault's argument on discourses that are influenced by knowledge (Foucault, in Morris & Patton, 1979).

Nevertheless, leaning on PSDT and DI and their notions on institutions being open to discourses, access to education provides an example on how differently same concept can be perceived based on certain time and political climate, actors and their interests, as well as on the way the elements in a concept are expressed in a text or speech, for instance (Schmidt, ibid.). Moreover, the findings on the perceptions on access to education in this study concur with Lund's ideas on how a case study should be approached; by paying attention to both concrete and abstract aspects of the concept (Lund, 2014). As the previous description of findings suggest, access to education can be seen in both concrete and abstract ways.

4.1.1 Key documents: Tale of policy and hierarchy in access to education

Van Dijk (2001), has argued that neutrality is rare and hard to find in policy making. While the selected documents for this thesis attempt to provide a broad and cosmopolitan approach to the topic of access to education, none of them are truly neutral in nature. Based on my findings, the discourse in these documents lays not on the level of commitment to the cause of these texts (that access to education is an important part of humanitarian action), but on the delivery of the message and on the thoroughness of the policies' applicability and accountability. In other words, regardless of the author of the selected key documents there is a voice behind the statements they intend to make. These statements are not, however, completely neutral. They have been built in a way to invite participants as signatories and for this purpose, they need to leave enough room for interpretation for those states that the policies affect most; refugee hosting states. Therefore, it could be said that there is a non-neutral agenda behind each policy to attract participants. Specific language aiming for specific goals has been compromised with vague language that is open for interpretations (e.g. documents A, B and C) (Leino, 2017).

The selected documents for this study tell a story of education in humanitarian action in different times and time periods. Simply stated, some of the documents focus on access in general sense (documents A, B, C, D); access equals ability to go to school. Others interpret access in a broader sense (documents E, F, G) to include aspects such as quality, literacy rates, enrolment levels and continuation and completion of schooling, and the role of gender and socio-economic status of school-aged children. The following table (Table 4.1) is an extended version of table 3.1 provided in chapter 3. The table attempts to illustrate the key contents of these documents highlighting parts that deal with right to education and access to education.

Alpha	Document title	Document type	Author(s)	Profile of the author and key contents of the document
A	United Nations Convention relating on the Status of Refugees (1951)	Legally binding	United Nations Member States/United Nations Office of High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR)	-UNHCR: UN Refugee Agency dedicated to saving lives, protecting the rights of refugees, displaced and stateless people – states are accountable to the UNHCR regarding 1951 Refugee Convention -Document defines status of refugees and outlines responsibilities of states (145 original signatories) -Convention has been amended once in 1967, removing geographical limitations from the original document allowing the Convention to be applicable to any displacement situation anywhere -Determines the minimum standards for treatment of refugees; including access to primary education

				-Elementary education for refugees is to be in accordance to national policies in each state -States need to provide refugees as favourable position in access to education as possible
B	Convention on the Rights of the Child (esp. Articles 27 & 28) (1989)	Legally binding	United Nations General Assembly (GA)	-Through UNGA Resolution 44/25 the Convention enshrines that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance -Article 27 highlights the right of every child to an adequate standard of living and e.g. physical, mental and social development -Article 28 solely focuses on right to education and requires states to "make primary education compulsory and available free to all"
C	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (esp. Article 13)	Legally binding	United Nations General Assembly	-Through UNGA Resolution 2200A (XXI) the Covenant recognizes the right of every human being to economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights -Article 13 acknowledges that education and access to education strengthen the fulfilment of these rights -Article 13 also states that "primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all" -With relevance to education in emergencies, the document also states that "fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education", which applies to many situations with refugees
D	New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016)	Legally non-binding	United Nations General Assembly	-Through UNGA Resolution 71/1 the Declaration highlights the need for an international response to a global phenomenon of increased movements of migrants and refugees -Document recalls many of the principles from documents A, B and C and can be seen as a continuation document to bring the principles back to table to-date -Outlines a set of commitments towards refugees and migrants together and separately -Section IV:81&82 specify refugees' right to education within few months of displacement in primary and secondary levels -Addresses a concern on a gap between needs and available resources to meet needs and commitments
E	Education 2030 Agenda & Framework for Action (2015)	Legally non-binding	United Nations Member states, UN agencies, civil society representatives	-Through the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030 parties of the document set out vision for education for the next decades; UNESCO to be responsible for leading and coordinating the Agenda -Document consists of two parts: Agenda in the form of Declaration and Framework for Action as a roadmap from policy into practice -Education 2030 Agenda recognizes the importance of education in development and in achieving all Sustainable Development Goals -Reaffirms education as public good and a fundamental human right that is necessary for the

				achievement of all other rights; also in conflict setting -Calls for access to free and publicly funded primary and secondary education -Sets responsibility of educational arrangements to governments and calls for increased funding -Framework for Action sets out strategies and targets for implementation of equitable access to quality education -Reaffirms the responsibility of governments to deliver right to education for all, but encourages sector-wide approaches in implementation (such a s civil society parties) -Calls for increased funding to education, especially in conflict and crisis, mainly by synergizing humanitarian and development funding practices -The Framework also sets out targets and indicators for achievement
F	UNHCR Emergency Handbook: Education in Emergencies (n.d.)	Legally non-binding	UNHCR	- UNHCR: UN Refugee Agency dedicated to saving lives, protecting the rights of refugees, displaced and stateless people -Handbook sets out standards for procedures in arranging education in an emergency, such as conflict situation -In principle, connects education with protection; highlights the importance of making education a primary objective in emergency arrangements -Encourages inclusion of refugee students in national systems and curricula -Highlights importance of teacher training in conflict related situations -Calls for both formal and non-formal education programmes to complement each other in learning processes
G	INEE Minimum Standards for Education (esp. Domains Two & Five) (2010).	Legally non-binding	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)	-INEE: open and global network of members working on fulfilling right to education in humanitarian and development framework -Document provides governments and humanitarian actors tools to address educational needs in emergencies and is widely used in the field -Domain Two highlights access to education in achieving normality in the lives of people affected by an emergency -Access calls for learning sites, learning methods (formal and non-formal education) and resources to be available for all -Domain Five focuses on the policy side of education and calls for an emergency education plan for every emergency - Calls for consideration of special needs of those affected by the emergency, based on non-discrimination of any kind -Sets responsibility of education to governments -Prioritizes ensuring access and continuation opportunities for education

Table 4.1

The selected legally binding documents (A, B and C) set a policy foundation through the underlying values and principles of the authors. Certain parts of the documents are specific enough to be applicable to a certain issue or phenomenon (such as access to education), but broad enough to leave enough room for interpretation and action (Leino, 2017). For instance, document A sets broad standards for the rights of refugees to education by defining that, elementary education should be in accordance with the state policies, and that host states need to do their best to offer education to refugees. Due to its legally binding nature document A is a strong policy document that commits its signatories to commit to and act upon what is said.

Each of the selected key documents recognize importance of education for all and access to education in one way or another. One of the most significant differences between these documents is that those of legally binding nature are using a different kind of language that those of non-legally binding nature. While legally binding documents firmly state, for instance, that it is obligatory to "make primary education compulsory and available free to all", they also state that all educational arrangements shall be operationalized according to national policies (CRC, 1989). While the legally binding nature obligates states to act in accordance to the requirements of these documents, holding states accountable is a more challenging task due to long legal processes and difficulty in monitoring enforcement of the commitments (Darcy, 2007; Leino, 2017).

However, there are also similarities and connections between the selected documents. Document D recalls many of the principles from documents A, B and C by quoting them directly, and can be seen as a continuation document to bring the principles up to date and into today's policies and practices. Legally non-binding documents move forward from values and principles set out by the legally binding documents and lead towards practice. Non-binding documents that have action items (e.g. Framework for Action, INEE Minimum Standards of EiE) set out the values and standards for practice. Furthermore, there are similarities in the background values that stem from the texts of these documents. Based Fairclough's (2003; 2006) and Van Dijk's (2001) notions on the relationship between text and content and underlying values, the texts in many of these documents reveal a value base content that build on a foundation of solidarity, responsibility to protect[8], and a sense of international responsibility to assist those in need.

8 Responsibility to protect (R2P) is an international principle that aims to protect those in danger to face most dangerous forms of violence and persecution. In 2005 UN World Summit meeting, Member States committed to R2P by including it into the outcome document of that meeting (A/RES/60/1). Source: UN Office of Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Protect https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.shtml

Therefore, what could be behind the vaguer language of legally binding documents? As numerous studies suggest, it is more challenging to gain signatories and ratifying states for legally binding documents than for legally non-binding documents (see e.g. Raustiala, 2005; Abbott et al., 2000). As the studies have suggested, this is due to the accountability aspect of these documents; the documents legally obligate states to commit to the stated standards outlined in the content and states are often hesitant in committing to specifically detailed content. Therefore, the specific action-oriented content more often appears in legally non-binding documents, as it can be seen in table 4.1. For instance, document D states that, "we are determined to ensure that all children are receiving education within a few months of arrival, and we will prioritize budgetary provision to facilitate this, including support for host countries as required". In this content, even the time frame ("within a few months of arrival") is clearly stated. Non-legally binding policy documents can be also seen as "status documents", meaning it is beneficial for the status of a state to be part of a non-binding document to avoid naming and shaming in the international community (Meernik et al., 2012; Esarey et al., 2017).

The role of policy documents, legally binding or not, even with all their limitations should not be undermined or underestimated. They key documents observed have realized the fact that emergency situations require a unique angle for education. Nevertheless, document F, for instance, highlights the security aspect of education in emergencies;

"For young refugees whose educations was interrupted by displacement, participation in educational programmes can provide a sense of continuity when everything else is in flux. For all children and youth, whether or not they attended school before displacement, education during an emergency can provide a stable, safe and supervised routine that is attentive to their academic and psychosocial needs and that develops their life skills. School can also prepare young people for further education: it can create conditions for long term solutions and at the same time protect them from both immediate and long term risks" (UNHCR,)

While all of them might not have practical significance as such, they play an important role in world politics and in the politicized world of humanitarian response. While legally binding documents hold signatory states accountable through ratification, non-legally binding documents play a rather moral role in using pressure on the stage of international politics through, for instance, naming and shaming (Meernik et al., ibid; Esarey et al., ibid). Both document types are also utilized while drafting new policies. Nevertheless, individual beneficiaries can refer to these documents

when they are claiming their rights in different situations – assuming they have the information available, which is not always the case.

In the following section I illustrate a key theme of *hierarchy* that rose from the findings upon investigation of the selected documents. There seems to be a certain type of policy hierarchy that stems from these documents and education in humanitarian action related policy documents in general.

4.1.1.1 Rights' Policy Hierarchy

The below figure (Figure 4.1.1) presents an idea of a hierarchy that stems from the selected key documents. At the top, stand rights as defined by international policies, such as refugee policies, education policies and policies on humanitarian action. Below international policy standards are national policies that need to be aligned with their international counterparts. For instance, documents A, B and E clearly state that host states are in charge of education for refugees. Therefore, they are obliged to make the arrangement for access to education, but may interpret their responsibilities differently. Under international and national policies are more abstract concepts in subsections: limitations or restrictions that these policies put in place; contexts in which the policies take effect; and available information of these policies. Under each subsection is the definition and more close relation to practice – the impact of these policies. In other words, policies set the standards in which the field operates, but there is room for interpretation on arrangements and organization. Although this figure illustrates a 'top to bottom' approach in terms of policies, what the figure does not show is the bottom-up influence that field operations have on policies in return.

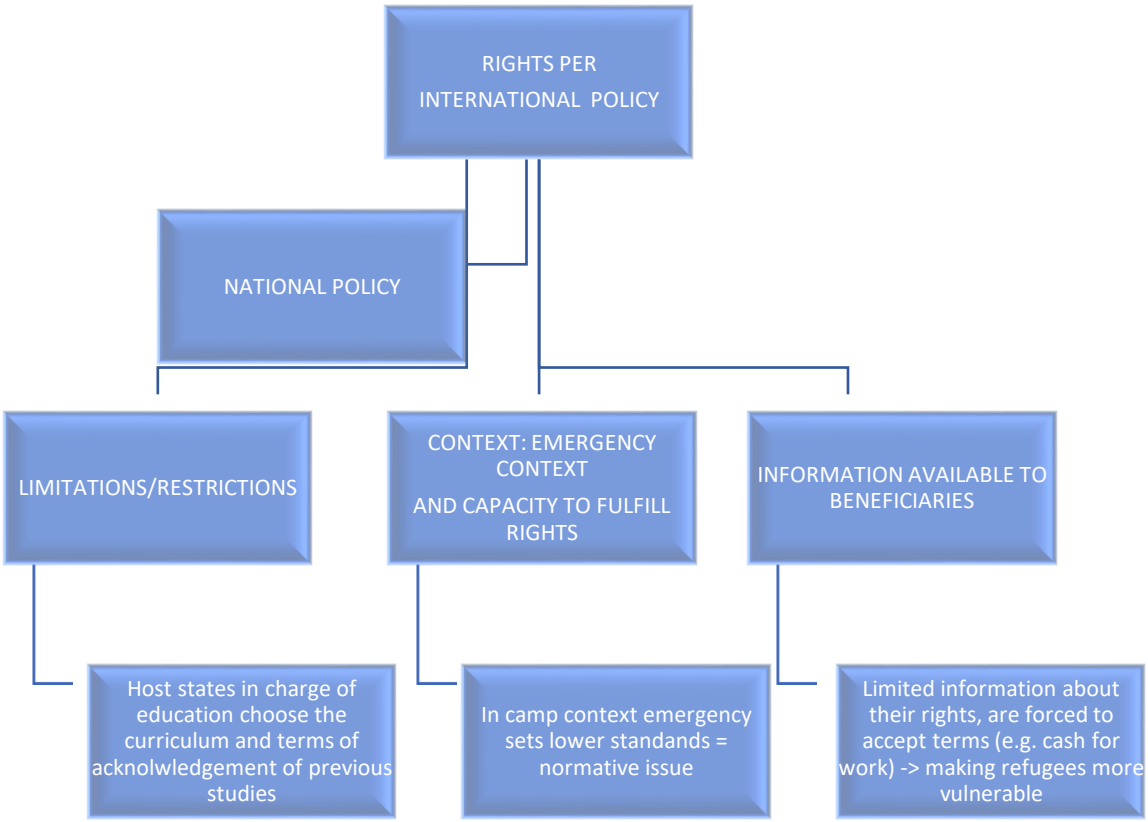

Figure 4.1.1

In summary, what are these documents saying about access to education in conflict related situations (research question 1)? First, the documents present us with a shift in discourse. This discourse is embodied in the different ways access is perceived over time and by different actors. The documents also present realizations of rights (to access to education), responsibilities and accountability models. The documents provide practical guidelines and frameworks to emergency and conflict related situations, but also leave room for interpretations. Interpretations can be problematic if the aim is to have coordinated, organized and efficient responses to crisis. Nevertheless, there is a hierarchy on policy level. The hierarchy imposes and reveals power structures within the structures of humanitarian action. At the top of the hierarchy are international policies that intent to guide national policies, field practice and the realities of beneficiaries. Connecting almost all documents is the burden of responsibility that is placed on states to be responsible for educational arrangements in conflict setting.

4.1.2 Field Perspective: Seeking for Access to Quality in Education

The informants for this research come from multiple backgrounds; some come from international organizations, some have local political background and some are beneficiaries of humanitarian action in a conflict context and operating from a more personal point of view. While perspectives and viewpoints of the informants differ, they all had one common perspective on the ability of the international community to respond to humanitarian crises: the system of humanitarian action is not functioning properly one way or another and the needs of those affected (beneficiaries) by a conflict are not met.

It should be noted at this point that, the interviews conducted for this study are reflections of the informants' perspectives. When analysing the transcriptions of these interviews I have attempted to approach the data based on my method of analysis leaning on discourses. Based on the method, informants are influenced by their values, beliefs and the context they operate in.

While interviewing my informants either via Skype or in person there were two kinds of strong visible narratives about access to education in emergency situations: frustration and enthusiasm. The enthusiasts were either mostly office based staff and almost without exception former employees of Ministry of Education (MoE) in Jordan. Their enthusiasm was especially clear when they talked about the successes of the MoE in resolving the refugee situation in Jordan, also in regards to education. Those who expressed their frustrations were also enthusiasts but with a more reserved, almost exhausted tone. The enthusiasm seemed to be geared towards the push for education agenda in humanitarian action rather than towards what they do and see daily through their jobs. Backgrounds of the informants were the context they based their narratives on including but not limited to nationality, academic and professional background and current position. There were differences in perspectives especially on the national policies in Jordan between Jordanian and in this case foreign informants.

I found that, especially informants at the refugee camps needed the time to assess the situation and who I was and with what intention I was asking questions from them. To one of my groups (G2) of Syrian teachers at the refugee camp I stated in several occasions that, the interviews were anonymous and their identities would not be displayed, after I sensed significant hesitation and discomfort. With G2 with T5, T6, and T7 I also tried to give them a chance to talk about a topic of their choice to ease the discomfort the discussion on education clearly caused in them:

32 Me: “Would you like to tell me something else about your life here?”

33 T6: “Our lives here are very difficult. We could have a whole other conversation about that.”

During this conversation, I also noticed that they were glancing at the representative of the organization they were working for in non-formal education who was present in the room. I realized that due to their experiences they were very careful about what they said in the presence of those who had power. In this case, power was in the form of representation; they possibly saw the representative of the organization as an authority who could have influence over the continuation of their work contract. Once the representative stepped out of the room and once I had patiently asked them questions in different ways they started talking in a more open way without filters.

54 Me: “So you all worked in the formal schools here on camp before?”

55 T6: “Yes. We all have a Master’s degree in education from Syria.”

56 Me: “Oh really? And what was your experience in teaching in the formal school?”

57 T6: “We considered ourselves as slaves. We were not treated equally. We did not have any advancement options.”

It turned out that the Syrian teachers were hired to teach in formal schools as assistants to the Jordanian teachers. One of the informants (W4) had told me before that since the host state is responsible for formal school arrangements for refugee students, they also preferred to hire their own nationals to teach in camp schools. The Jordanian Ministry of Education (MoE) has ordered that in all formal education and education management the employees need to be Jordanian workforce. The informants, however, did not feel that the Jordanian teachers were qualified to teach children in camp context, for they were all always very young and inexperienced. Informants both in G1 and G2 told me that they had found out that for many Jordanian teachers who came to teach in camps it was their first job after graduation and they used the camp site schools as their first learning experience in real-life teaching before they proceeded to teach in the national school system outside of the camp. Physical violence on pupils, negligence of teaching, smoking in classrooms, disrespect towards Syrian teachers and limited teaching materials in formal camp schools were also brought up in both groups. These things combined have not encouraged refugee families to send their children to formal schooling, according to the informants. As Harber (2004)

has argued, physical punishment and stress and anxiety can encourage further violence in a society or community and arguably has an impact on school attendance and attitudes towards education.

These findings align with information presented in table 4.1: access to education in In Za'atari is endangered due to these observations. T3, however, speaks proudly about her three primary school aged children who attend both formal and non-formal schools and activities and are doing well.

67 Me: "Do your kids attend school?"
68 T3: "Yes. They go to school in district A."
69 Me: "Are they getting good education?"
70 T3: "Yes they have good schooling. If they don't go to real school they can't attend soccer here."
71 Me: "Oh, so they can only attend soccer if they go to school too?"
72 T3: "Yes, they must do well in school and go to class and then they can come here [NGO's facilities] for activities."
73 T4: "It's the policy. Kids go to school and then they can learn more here."
74 Me: "How do you know if they go to school?"
75 T4: "We get reports if they drop out."
76 Me: "So it's a good motivation to go to school for the kids then?"
77 [everyone nods]

Although formal schooling and especially teaching faced significant criticism from the teacher informants they all encouraged their own children to go to school. They also agreed that although there is some resistance towards education, most families are supportive of educating their children. Both groups emphasized the support from homes for children's' schooling. While the available schooling options may not be ideal the informants (who all had school aged children and/or grandchildren) indicated that sending their kids to school is crucial for futures of their descendants.

Nevertheless, based on the above conversation it became evident that the linkage between formal schooling attendance and non-formal education is realized in NGO side: by requiring formal school attendance in order to participate in their activities and classes certainly supports the overall educational goals of humanitarian action. Access to education in general is in good standing through formal education, but the characteristics and quality of the education still needs work, according to informants from group interviews.

4.1.3 Case study: Za'atari Refugee Camp

In Za'atari, there are approximately 80,000 people registered, as per UNHCR in 2018, and some 400,000 who have passed through the camp since its opening in 2012 (UNHCR, 2018). The camp size is more than five square kilometres and the residents are almost solely Syrians due to the close proximity to the Southern border of Syria. 57 percent of refugees on the camp are under the age of 24 (UNHCR, 2018), which creates a special burden for education and employment sectors.

Formal education is organized by the Ministry of Education (MoE) of Jordan based on the 1951 Refugee Convention and a clause that states that host countries are responsible for educational arrangements for refugees within the borders of their country (document A). Formal education schooling like takes place in caravans that have no running water nor electricity (W3). Therefore, schooling is subject to conditions determined by separate factors such as weather and availability of learning materials as mentioned in section 4.1. For instance, teacher informants (G1 and G2) described that due to lack of heating in classrooms schools are often closed during winter time. Similarly, in the summer time, schools are closed due to lack of air conditioning and high temperatures in the classrooms.

In the next section I will describe my experience in the Za'atari camp based on my field observation notes and notes made on conversations outside of the more formal semi-structured interviews.

4.1.3.1 Za'atari, the "ideal camp"

The drive from central Amman to Za'atari refugee camp is about one and a half hours long. When we drive through the busy streets and merge onto a little less well maintained highway our local driver working for an international NGO asks me if I have been on Za'atari camp before. After responding with the negative, the driver describes the camp as "beautiful". I find this a rather strange choice of wording for something that in my mind is something harsh, melancholic, muddy and somewhat chaotic. As we drive towards the camp site, city views suddenly change and we pass through the countryside of Jordan, where agricultural presence is strong. Roadside kiosks, ill-maintained and unused land, houses built from what is available, some clearly abandoned, followed by beautiful green and flowery lands frequently dominate the views as we drive through the clearly less advantaged parts of the country. Martha (name changed), my guide for the day, is sleeping. She is Jordanian and has worked for the NGO for three years, first in the main office in Amman and now for more than a year as a Za'atari camp volunteer coordinator. She travels to and from the

camp every day to oversee an organization's activities and employees. Right before arriving at the camp site the road turns very difficult to drive on with bumps and holes on the road. In the middle of the desert stand electric poles with cables, maintenance buildings and some other houses.

Upon arrival in Za'atari refugee camp armed guards perform an identity check and we pass through the main entrance gate. We will be driving everywhere due to rainy weather. I am being told that the pathways and roads get muddy during rainy days. It is clear that Za'atari camp has been in place for many years – almost a decade now. Instead of emergency shelters in the form of tents from UNHCR, behind the walls of this camp in the middle of the endless desert people live in caravans similar to those used in construction sites. All buildings used for offices, maintenance storage and supply, NGO activities, schools and clinics take place in these caravans. Martha tells me there are several districts on the camp. As we drive onto one of the roads entering District 5, where the NGO in located in, it becomes even more clear that this is no temporary settlement: there are asphalt on the main roads, a marketplace where numerous goods are sold from baby strollers and used bicycles to soccer sneakers, electricity and water supplies, and endless lines and sets of caravans further than one can see.

We park on the side of the road for Martha and our driver to pick up some documents and supplies from the NGO's main office in the camp. I wait in the car and observe the surroundings. A young [presumably] couple walks back towards the caravan settlements from the dunes both smiling and talking to each other. A few steps ahead of our car is a woman with a double baby stroller with a blanket over it to cover wind and possible rain. One toddler climbs out of the stroller, then another, then third and I start to think how many can fit in one stroller. Turns out one can fit five toddlers into one double stroller. The woman tries to control the moves of all five but gives up and lets them wonder around in close proximity.

When Martha returns she goes over the agenda for the day. We will go to the sight where most of the NGO's informal education activities and clubs take place. I will have time for focus groups with teachers and NGO volunteers and an opportunity to observe sections and lessons. As we continue the drive to the activities' sight we drive past endless rows of caravans. I am being told that more than one family might share one caravan leaving very little personal space or privacy to the residents. Many of the caravans have water containers installed on top of their roofs, allowing functioning private toilet facilities. People are using bicycles or wheeled carts to transport goods and supplies from one place to another. Some of them carry them on their shoulders. People seem be trying to make their daily lives as normal as possible in the circumstances. There is no sign of chaos or disorder. Crowdedness only shows as side by side gathered caravans. Children are running

and playing – they are most of the people seen outside. Martha tells me most of the adults are at work – which I want to ask her about later on.

When we arrive to the sight of the NGO's activities I notice that they have a brand new soccer field in the premises. The soccer coach Ihab (name changed), who is introduced to me, is a Syrian refugee. "They think it's easier to play without shoes", he says as I find myself commenting on the fact that none of the boys playing have shoes on. They have kicked their slippers to the side of the field and I become embarrassed of the thought that instantly crossed my mind before the coach's comment: "These poor kids don't even have shoes on". It is not the first nor the last time during my field visit that I feel the pity surface in my mind. The coach explains in Arabic with Martha translating to me that soccer is one of the most popular hobbies for the camp kids – boys and girls alike, although they have different practices for males and females. I can tell that it is a very serious game they have going on, and many of the boys seem extremely skilled. The coach tells me he used to play in the national league in Syria before the war, and that many of the kids are dreaming of a soccer career. "Do they also go to school?", I ask and the coach answers firmly and tells me the kids may only attend the NGO's informal education and freetime activities, if they are enrolled and attending formal schooling. This is the policy for most NGO's across the camp, Martha tells me.

Next I will have my first teacher group to interview. My informants in this group are teachers and educators by their professional and academic background; Khalim, Ayesha, Mohammed (names changed) and the soccer coach Ihab. They are all Syrian refugees and have lived in the camp since it's opening in 2012 when they left their homes in Dara'a and Damascus. I have decided to keep the focus groups thematic with conversational approach. I want to ask them about the schooling and teaching arrangements of primary schools in Za'atari. At first, they seem hesitant about talking about themselves and their background, so I turn to more practical questions about schooling arrangements. Martha and Khalim are translating for it is easier for Ayesha and Mohammed to speak in Arabic. The second teacher group is located on the other side of the camp in the NGO's other facility. After some hesitation, this groups also talks openly about their experiences both in the formal school system and as employees of the NGO. In the below table (table 4.2) I have listed some key findings from the Za'atari refugee camp to illustrate some points on access to education in the case study's sphere of humanitarian action.

Key findings from the Za'atari refugee camp
Many residents have lived in the camp for almost a decade and have experienced the evolvement of the camp. First there were UNHCR tents in which all services (including education) took place, nowadays most tents have been replaced by caravans that house anywhere between 1-4 families in one.
Access to education has been taken into consideration by several means: - formal education schooling available in various parts of the camp; each district have their own school offering formal education - non-formal education programs and activities (e.g. ICT classes, language classes, skills development programs, sporting activities) are available to complement formal school learning: these activities are solely organized by NGOs and take place mostly in NGO facilities
Challenges in access to education: - educational facilities are weather-sensitive: in very hot and cold conditions school often gets cancelled due to lack of heating and air-conditioning - many NGO's face increasing challenges to maintain their educational programs due to decreasing funding - some NGO's providing educational programs have left the site completely over the years due to funding unavailability
Formal schooling is under the management of the state; MoE cooperates with UNICEF to arrange formal education.
Refugee families are concerned about the quality and content of education in the camp: they need to work hard outside of school to ensure their children are learning and can attend education appropriate to their age.
Because formal schooling follows Jordanian curriculum families are concerned about future recognition and validation of their descendants' education if/when they return to Syria or move elsewhere.

Table 4.2

In summary, to connect the previous sections to research question 2, what kind of challenges are there in field practice in relation to the content of the selected policy documents? Data from the case study of Za'atari refugee camp suggests that to achieve the fulfilment of right to education and access to education is subject to varying circumstances. Infrastructures, physical facilities that consider the climate and weather conditions of the locations, teaching staff, curriculum choices, management and organization of education, and coordination and cooperation between different parties working in education each play a part in the successes and shortcomings of educational activities. Field actors are particularly challenged with funding structures and monetary flows that are inadequate to support all the programs deemed necessary in the field. Camp residents themselves, are concerned about the quality of education and the relevance of curriculum taught in formal schools.

4.1.3 Architecture of humanitarian action: Distances in access to education

"We have a collective responsibility to ensure education plans take into account the needs of some the most vulnerable children and youth in the world – refugees, internally displaced children, stateless children and children whose right to education has been compromised by war and insecurity. These children are the keys to a secure and sustainable future, and their education matters for us all."
António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2016

The previous chapters and sections have confirmed that within the architecture of humanitarian action there is a sense of recognized responsibility to provide refugee children access to education. This shows in the policy documents as well as in the field operators' perspectives. However, although the architecture of humanitarian action succeeds in policy, planning and value setting, there are distances in connecting policies and practice.

In section 4.1.1.1 a hierarchy of policy documents and the processes they create was introduced. While there is hierarchy of document types and document subtexts (Figure 4.1.1), there is also hierarchy in humanitarian response and where education stands within this context. What stroke me during the early stages of my research phase was what one of my interviewees said. Having worked for over a decade for a significant international organization she stated that,

"while education is usually the first one to be cut in humanitarian crises, it is more often the last one to be restored" (W2).

While considering the amount of policies that are highlighting education as one of the key elements in humanitarian response, development assistance, sustainable development and empowerment of communities, especially women and girls, it is evident that there is a gap between policy values and practice. Nevertheless, per the same informant, due to a gap in funding in what is needed and what is funded, many programs necessary to fulfil the right to access to education go underfunded or not funded at all (W2). Shortage of funding creates a competitive environment between organizations and creates more challenges to coordination and cooperation of field activities (W2).

The before mentioned competitive setting was also visible in the working group meeting I attended during my field visit trip in Amman, Jordan. Many of the attendees called for openness in funding distribution. Representatives were concerned that (more) organizations would have to leave Za'atari due to shortcomings of funding for their non-formal education activities that is available outside their own organizational funding structures. The funding in question was funding from the MoE that controls the international funding coming in for Za'atari and education. Spearheading the activities in Za'atari, UNICEF seemed to be the organization responsible for communication with

the MoE in Jordan in terms of proposals and funding. NGO representatives frequently brought up "rumours" they had heard regarding funding and where it would be used, which spoke for gaps in communication and coordination between UNICEF, NGOs and country officials. According to some of the attendees, there are challenges in interpretation of the needs in access to relevant education in Za'atari; while different levels of education receive attention, the big picture of continuum in education is key in field planning.

The frustrations of field actors speak for the gaps in the architectures of humanitarian action. In a response to a protracted crisis change of courses of action is needed over time. According to the working group attendees, in the beginning of the crisis, most Za'atari residents were in the need of basic education. Now almost ten years later those students are in secondary level without possibilities to continuing their education due to shortcomings in funding and realizations on the needs of the camp residents. While organizations have done needs assessments[9] and provided reports and proposals based on the findings of their analysis, funding for programs that would meet the current needs in access to relevant education does not meet the needs. The MoE seemed to have focused on formal education and organizations called for more recognition for their necessary non-formal programs that evidently support formal education.

Whitfield (2009), has done extensive research on power and dependency in humanitarian and development action. She has argued that, in giver-receiver relations old paradigms prevail and government officials and ministers often resist and question external actors and donors for legitimacy reasons (Whitfield, ibid). In other words, protectionism sometimes prevents progress in the field to take place due to host governments' unwillingness to negotiate and cooperate. This is also visible through the findings of my case study and reveals the gap between policy makers and field practitioners. In the case of Za'atari, there are challenges in dialogue and cooperation, which leads to frustrations in the field, inabilities to plan long-term for relevant education programs, and ultimately weak access to relevant education programs.

9 Field organizations have adopted a mutual way of assessing what is needed in the field. UNOCHA has created guidelines for needs assessments that organizations can use to assess and analyse needs in humanitarian action. More about needs assessments: https://www.unocha.org/fr/themes/needs-assessment-and-analysis.

OCHA has published reports that acknowledge a gap that appears to be present especially in the form of funding and coordination (OCHA, 2016a; OCHA, 2016b). OCHA has called for more coordination and cooperation between humanitarian organizations in emergency situations.

"Good coordination means less gaps and overlaps in the assistance delivered by humanitarian organizations" (OCHA, 2019).

However, based on the data from this study there are gaps within the architecture of humanitarian action. In access to education, these gaps are embodied in the distance between one single beneficiary and a policy document; promises of access in policy are not fully delivered in practice. My data suggests that part of the gap is caused by the challenges in coordination between different field actors. Policy documents, as outlined in sections 3.3.1 and 4.1.1, set the responsibility to provide access to education to (host) states and governments. However, humanitarian organizations and NGOs are tasked to deliver most of the field activities. Dialogue and coordination between these operating parties seem challenging and ultimately these challenges prevent access to education.

In response to the third research question, whether there are gaps between policy and practice in access to education and what the characteristics of the gaps are, my data shows that the presence of gaps is evident. The gaps are characterized by funding shortage, challenges in coordination and cooperation, and challenges in delivering access to relevant services and programs on the field.

4.2 Limitations and opportunities of the study

While this study presents evidence on challenges and gaps between policy and practice in humanitarian action and access to education, there are some limitations that should be noted. First, I was only able to spend a very limited time in the field. With seven days in the field, the data might have some challenges in terms of interpretation and reliability. However, the case study is complemented by the selected documents and analysis of the interviews, which can increase the reliability of the results. There are also gaps in the data from semi-structured interviews. Because the research was spread out over a two-year period and some of the interviews were made in 2017 and some in 2019, it is possible that they are not fully comparable and/or relatable due to the limited background research I had done in 2017. Nevertheless, during the group interviews in Za'atari, I faced some challenges with trust building with the informants. First, I had very little control over the participant choices because I had to rely on the organization that helped me with the access to the camp. The residents and their identities are protected for security purposes and the organization

staff did all the arrangements for me. Second, the representative of the organization (Jordanian citizen) was present in the room partially during the interviews. This caused clear hesitations in the informants. I also realized that, I had to repeat and emphasize the anonymity and purpose of the interviews several times before the informants could be truly honest about their perspectives. It is possible that, as a result of the limited time and trust issues in the field and interview materials, my data has a limited capacity to portray fully reliable evidence. Therefore, further research in the connection between policy and practice is still needed.

There are also gaps in the overall research and areas that present an opportunity for further research. Due to the selected focus for this study many important aspects were left with little to no attention. While the focus of this study was in access to education, a more in depth analysis of the funding structures and monetary flows within the architectures of humanitarian action would deserve a study on its own. As my data suggests, protracted crisis presents challenges in continuum of services. Therefore, further research would be necessary to determine, for instance, how this demand for service continuum is realized in policy and practice. Nevertheless, in the early stages of my research I was interested in the concept of "lost generation" (see e.g. Phillips, 2018; UNICEF, 2014). I included a question about the concept in the semi-structured interviews, but soon realized it would be a topic that would deserve a study on its own to be fully understood in depth.

5. Concluding remarks

"*There cannot be rights without responsibility*."
Informant W4, 2019

This thesis has contributed to a discussion in humanitarian action and access to education. The case study of Za'atari refugee camp provides examples of field challenges in response to a humanitarian emergency. While the Syrian refugee situation is not at the centre of this thesis the context has affected educational considerations in international and national policies. Increase in numbers of persons of concern has created a challenging context for education policies internationally and nationally in the humanitarian sector (Crisp, 2009). Moreover, part of this context is the timeframe of the conflict. While refugee settlements and camps are aimed to serve a temporary purpose to provide shelter and protection for people who are forced to flee their homes, in the Syrian context the camps have become long lasting solutions in a prolonged conflict (UNHCR, 2018).

One of the key findings from my data is that the importance of education as a central element of humanitarian action in crisis and conflict situations need to be realized now more than ever. This applies to both policy and practice, for education is now realized as a mean of protection rather than additional good or service.

Upon the investigation of selected policy documents I realized that as a reader and analyser it was not only important to observe what was said and how, but equally take into consideration the context of the documents. With constantly changing political situations and increasing challenges caused by the rapidly growing flow of refugees considered[10], the context in which the education policy documents were created has been continuously changing. The selected documents clearly call for access to free and relevant education for all, both formal and non-formal. In emergencies, the documents put the burden of responsibility to states to arrange education for beneficiaries within their borders.

Field observations and interviews for this study revealed challenges in practice in relation to the selected documents. Funding limitations, challenges in field management, cooperation and coordination, and varying interpretations of field needs prevent providing access to relevant education in the field.

In summary, there are gaps and distances in education policy and practice. The very same challenges that field operators face contribute to these gaps. Ideally, the architecture of humanitarian action allows operations take place in changing circumstances. In conflict and emergency situations, flexibility of architectures, systems and structures would be needed to reflect the realities of the field. Policies recognize and emphasize the right to access to education. While the responsibility of fulfilment has been set to states, accountability systems within the architectures of humanitarian action still need to be developed. In the end, beneficiaries have the right to claim their rights on access to education.

[10] UNHCR has tracked and reported Syrian refugee numbers in Jordan since March 2013, a few months after the opening of Za'atari refugee camp. The numbers tell us about the rapid changes in amounts of registered persons of concern (refugees, asylum seekers, IDP's), which arguably had an impact on the content of policy documents. Examples of the figures: March 2013, 283 215; March 2014, 588 979; May 2016; 651 114. Since 2016 the numbers have stagnated between 650 000-680 000 with latest figures from March 2019, 670 238 persons of concern. The corresponding figures for all Syrian refugees worldwide are: March 2013, 666 598; March 2014, 2 509 207; May 2016 4 813 247, March 2019 5 684 381. These numbers indicate a worldwide emergency particularly since 2014 to date. Source: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36 and https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria

Finally, the humanitarian system is not prepared and equipped to respond to protracted crisis. My data suggests that the architecture of humanitarian action serves better short term emergencies, in which need of funding and program planning is short term. This became evident in the challenges field operators were facing in the field; they are faced with shortcomings in funding and therefore in the ability to provide relevant programs for their beneficiaries. Debate continues about the best strategies for the management of education in emergencies in terms of access to education. Is education simply another "check in the box" to arrange such qualitative service in emergency situations? With protracted crises in the current world challenges with relevance, quality and learning in access to education remain at the centre of worldwide education crisis.

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ANNEX 1

THESIS: SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

UNDERLYING THEMES (no direct questions, but these themes I am interested about e.g.):
Access to education
Education in emergencies
Education in camps
Vulnerability – who are the most vulnerable in camp settings to "get left behind"?
Who knows what's the best for refugees – how to structure education?
Obstacles in accessing education? (Infrastructures? attitudes and financial burdens? What are they?)
National systems vs camp system; What is being taught at camps and how?

SET QUESTIONS:

Could you please tell me your name, your job title and educational and professional background.

What does your position at (organization) entail? Please tell me about your day-to-day job.

My thesis deals with access to education, education in emergencies and the right to education – how do these concepts relate to what you do in your job?

What standards and/or specific documents concerning education are most important from the perspective of how education is managed and organized in this camp?"

Could you please describe how access to education in camps is organized? Who are the main actors and what are their respective responsibilities in the area of education?
What are the successes? What has worked? Are there any challenges? What stands on the way to succeed? What is "success in education"?

Education is talked about both in humanitarian response and development assistance. In camp setting and in your experience, how well are these two aligned with one another? Especially in situations in which the emergency has lasted for a long time – when does it move from humanitarian aid to development assistance or is there a transition? Could development funds be used in humanitarian setting in protracted crisis?

If something should change in how education is arranged in emergencies in policy and practice what kind of changes would you like to see?
Who has the power to change things? Who needs to do and what?

In education in emergencies research a concept of "lost generation" is sided. What are your thoughts on the concept; does it exist and what does it mean for education in the field of humanitarian aid?

POLICY ACTORS:

HOW HAS ROLE OF EDUCATION IN HUMANITARIAN AID CHANGED OVER THE YEARS? WHAT CHALLENGES DOES IT BRING? WHAT REASONS DROVE FOR EDUCATON TO THE HUMANITARIAN AGENDA?